7: United States W-4 (no date) 1964 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

II

BACKGROUND

The Blackfeet Reservation, with headquarters in Browning, Montana, lies for the most part in Glacier County with a small portion on the south and east extending into Ponderosa County, Montana. Most of the Reservation is on the eastern side of Glacier National Park in northwest Montana adjacent to the province of Alberta, Canada. Miles of green range and farmlands fan out from the base of the Rockies to form the Reservation which covers a tract of land 52 by 58 miles (see Figures 1 and 2).

The Reservation is served by rail and air and both local and national bus lines, as well as several local and transcontinental trucking lines. A network of Federal, State and local highways provides ready access to the important markets of Great Falls, Shelby and Havre, Montana. A full range of utilities is available on the Reservation - telephones, a plentiful water supply, and natural gas from gas fields in nearby Montana and Alberta. Only the larger communities of Browning and Cut Bank have adequate sewer systems. Electricity is supplied by a cooperative electric company from power developed at the Fort Peck Dam in eastern Montana. Approximately 2,000 kilowatt hours of power are available on the western side of the Reservation with considerably more on the eastern side.

The average rainfall measures 14.4 inches per year in the Browning area and 13.8 inches in the lower and eastern parts of the Reservation. Annual snowfall is approximately 63 inches. Mean temperatures range from 19° F. above zero in January to 61° in July. Frost has been reported as late as May 19 and as early as July 16 during the last seventy years. The major part of the Reservation is subject to strong and persistent westerly winds which are usually more severe during the early spring months. Generally the climate on the Reservation is of the semiarid type. The average growing season for irrigated crops is approximately 120 days. While the economy on the Reservation revolves largely around agriculture, significant raw materials are available in and under the land surface. Oil and natural gas are found in the eastern portion of the Reservation's well known Cut Bank oil fields. The Choteau iron deposit extends from the foot of the Rockies over the western half of the Reservation. Its titanium content is approximately 12 percent and the iron content is from 30-40 percent. Coal reserves are estimated at approximately 50,000,000 short tons. Abundant recreational facilities are available for outdoor activities. The many lakes offer boating, swimming and fishing. There is big game and upland bird hunting during certain seasons of the year. The Blackfeet Tribe recognizes the value of this important tribal property with respect to its potential for future development. It represents 1,500,000 acres of gently rolling plain between 3,500 and 4,500 feet above sea level.

The population of the Blackfeet Reservation in 1960 was 4,900. Approximately 50 percent (800) of the adult males on the Reservation have been classified as skilled or semiskilled workers. An almost equal percentage of adult females, 60 percent (300), are likewise categorized. Wage rates for males in manufacturing areas have reached $2.21 per hour while female employment rates

range from approximately $1.00 per hour. The estimated family income level for the Blackfeet Reservation as of 1959 was $2,700.

The governing body for the population is a Tribal Council elected by popular vote every two years. English is spoken by all but a handful of the older people. Approximately 4,500 tribal members live on the Reservation. Their residences are located principally in the Browning area, a community of about 3,000, fanning out to smaller towns primarily north, west and south of that community.

At the time of the nutrition survey 1,237 children were enrolled in schools on the Blackfeet Reservation.

Medical care is furnished by a Public Health Service Indian Hospital located at Browning which provides both inpatient and outpatient care. There are prenatal field clinics and special health services on a regular basis throughout the Reservation. In 1961 the average daily census in the Hospital was 25, with 1,334 admissions and over 20,000 outpatient clinic visits during the year. The predominant medical problems are obstetric, infectious and accidents. Table 2 lists the leading causes of hospitalization in the fiscal years 1961-1963 and illustrates the importance of respiratory and gastrointestinal infections. All but 24 of the children born on the Reservation in 1961 were born in the Hospital. Table 3, listing the leading notifiable communicable diseases, reveals the high frequency of gastroenteritis and middle ear infections. Table 4 lists the leading causes of death for the Browning Service Unit, with diseases of the heart and of early infancy and accidents contributing over 50 percent in 1961.

With the high incidence of infectious diseases the level of nutritional health is particularly significant in view of the relationships between nutrition and infection.

In 1961 there was a total of 266 births on the Blackfeet Reservation and no maternal deaths. There were, however, 9 deaths which fall into the perinatal mortality classification, giving a prevalence of 3 percent.

Reference

1. Hospital Data - 1962. Program Analysis and Special Studies, Division of Indian Health

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

the number of poor quality stallions around the camps. However, Buffalo Back Fat, head chief of the Blood tribe, a keen student of horses, is known to have advised members of his family, "Don't cut your stallion too young. Wait until he is four years old. Let him have a chance to chase mares. He will be a good runner, a good feeder, and an easily managed, fancy horse."

Usually a number of horses were castrated the same day. The operation was performed by specialists. Piegan informants mentioned the names of a half dozen men of their tribe who were expert gelders. Among them were the wealthy horse owners, Stingy, Many-White-Horses, and Bull Shoe. The specialists were paid for their services. If a man had several horses castrated, he might give the surgeon a horse. If he had one or two horses gelded he made payment in less valuable articles, such as robes, blankets, saddle blankets, plain skin or cloth shirts, or arrows.

A corral was not deemed necessary for castrating. The operation was performed in the open near the lodges of the camp. The horse to be gelded was thrown down. One hind leg was drawn between the two front ones and the three legs tied securely with a rawhide rope. The other hind leg was trussed up and held by a second rope. Details of one common method of trussing are shown in figure 5. Without

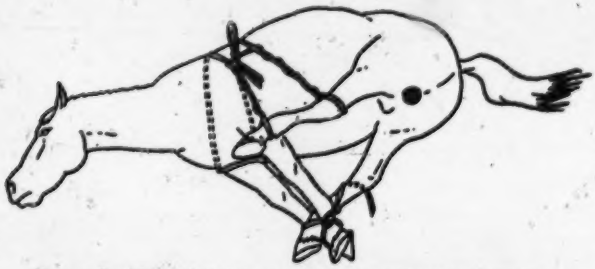

FIGURE 5.—Method of tying a stallion for castrating, Blackfoot.

prayer or ceremony of any kind the surgeon set to work. With a sharp butcher knife he cut a hole in the scrotum, squeezed out the testicles, wrapped and tied the cords by which they were suspended, then severed the testicles and threw them away. It was customary for the surgeon to ask the horse owner what material he wished used for tying, before the operation was begun. Some men insisted on the use of deer or antelope sinew, which they thought would make their horses fleet. After the operation some men picked up a testicle and tried to roll it along the horse's back, saying, "This will surely be a fast buffalo horse." This was the closest approach to ritual connected with the operation.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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bided his time in marriage and told his friend, Flesh Taster, that "he was looking for someone suitable to him, even though she might be older." Finally he sought a vision and acquired medicine power. What money he earned he put into horses and proceeded to validate his prestige in the traditional way. He bought bundles "with the idea of being a priest some day." He had observed how comfortable a living "bishops" made, and he aspired to become one. Today he earns about $300 as a Horn priest and $600 as a medicine doctor, "more when there is an epidemic."

But the opportunities for remunerative work were scarce and few young men had either Many Rattles' ambition or foresight. Farming and what little herding there was may have raised the subsistence level, but they brought no substantial increase in income. The young man's position became increasingly insecure. It was difficult to get a job, it was difficult to get a wife, it was difficult to get a horse, and the prestige and advantage that followed the buying of ceremonial objects was therefore denied him. To find a place in the new society he had to revert to the patterns of the past, even when they were forbidden. The 1887–1888 report states, "War parties [were] composed mostly of young men from 16–25 years of age . . ."[87] These were raids upon the neighboring herds, and usually the Government cut short a brave career with a jail sentence.

The chasm between rich and poor was widening. When an old medicine man was asked, "Who is *istuiscnaps*? Who gets respect?" he answered, "Those people who are born of rich people and maintain their riches. Also those rich in prestige from bundles and war exploits," and finally he added, "a rich man must have acquired his riches through earnest, honest, hard labor."[88] For today as well as yesterday "respect" is usually phrased in terms of war exploits and ceremonial ownership. It is therefore most revealing that this medicine man who spent his young days bucking the concentration of horse wealth in the first years of the reserve period, should feel his early struggle so intensely that only secondarily does he define "respect" in the traditional manner. His final remarks are perhaps an apology for the "new" rich who do not buy ceremonial objects but receive covert "respect" from the group. Earnest, honest, hard labor was not rewarded in a distant past.[89] Skill, daring, and ambition were more apt to have brought success.

CHILD STATUS AND WEALTH.—Children of the rich were set apart from

[87] 1888, Vol. 13, No. 15, p. 108. The report adds "Red Crow and the older men and chiefs strongly object to this horse stealing." In this, they followed a pattern at least as old as 1809. "The old men," reads the Journal of Henry and Thompson, p. 546, "redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order."

[88] Biele, Field Notes.

[89] Mishkin, *op. cit.*, p. 53, for a similar rephrasing.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

434 approximately $40,000 annually.[115] As early as 1902, the agent had written,
178 "these Indians are certainly industrious and never lose an opportunity to
make money at any work that may turn up."[116] And four years later the
[461] general report reads, "A complete change has gradually come over their views. . . . The experimental discovery of the market value has brought this revolution of feeling."[117] Completely forgotten was the fact that the market value had been equally important to a successful fur trade in the buffalo days, and that then it had also been a spur to industry and ambition.

311 SOCIAL VALUES SUSTAINED.—But neither the increase in wealth nor its
231 greater spread threatened the dominance of the large horse owners. True,
184 they were persuaded, at long last, to care for the meat needs of their fami-
556 lies from their own stock,[118] but the small dent made by these contributions was quickly offset by other government policies. The flow of white settlers into the area was steady, and it soon became apparent that "further expansion need not in the future be looked for so much in the direction of the increase of herds already in the hands of individuals as in the number of those who will engage in the industry, because largely in consequence of the curtailment of the hay areas . . . and the gradual increase of cattle, a large and growing proportion of Indians have already reached the limit of what they could profitably handle. . . ."[119] Ponies and priority had determined the size and ownership of the large cattle herds.

464 Many a young man who could not acquire a substantial herd of his own
231 was drawn into the industry as a helper. His position in terms of the old
[465] buffalo days was in part reëstablished. Again his services were in demand;
[557] again he was assured board, lodging, clothing, and if his employer were generous, a horse as an annual bonus. These helpers were often the younger or poorer relatives of rich herders,[120] and they hoped for preferential treatment because of relationship. There was little chance of riches in this work,

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[116] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 133.

[117] 1906, Vol. 12, No. 27, p. xxv.

[511] [118] In 1905, twenty-five men agreed to support seventy-five women and children. They handed back the $50 that had been credited to their meat account. (1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.) By 1907-1908, two hundred Blood, or about two-thirds of the
[557] adult male population, found it unnecessary to draw free food allowances. In that year the Government supplied the tribe with 273,000 lbs. less beef than it had five years earlier. (1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 163.)

[119] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. xxvi.

[171] [120] A more or less similar situation exists among the Kazak. In discussing the helpers of cattle owners, A. E. Hudson (*Kazak Social Structure*, p. 27) writes, "These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who receive wages."

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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657 owns his own farm and after it is broken for him, works it individually
425 without having any interest in the work or produce of any of the adjoining
243 farms. . . .[134] Out of the proceeds of the crop each Indian paid back to the
[407] trust fund all advances that had been made him including cost of breaking
[452] land, seed, fencing, granaries."[135] Returns were immediate and large. Chief Running Antelope, who bought
243 out one of the other Indians[136] while the crop was growing and thus har-
434 vested eighty acres, had a cash balance of $1309.42 after paying all debts
[425] and advances. Emile Bull Shield came next with a net balance of $1203.59. Tallow took third place with clear profits of $1200.81.[137] By the end of the decade, many a young farmer was better off than the old established cattle herders.

434 The following table shows the amazing increase in income during this
178 decade of greatest participation:[138]

	1911	1914	1919	1920
Farm products, including hay.	$29,645	$24,000	$29,575	$110,000
Beef	11,549	14,348	60,000	59,929
Wages	13,432	17,751	35,000	50,000
Miscellaneous	2,124	5,001	39,171	34,403
Total income	$56,750	$61,100	$233,746	$254,332

464 In 1919, there were 4000 cattle (a substantial decrease from the figures
433 of 1906) and 3600 horses on the reserve; 2800 acres were sown, almost
[231] entirely in wheat, and 10,000 tons of hay were cut.[139] Due to World War I,
[458] all commodity prices were inflated and the returns from beef and farm products multiplied four times in as many years. Everyone prospered. Even the single men without herds or land had no difficulty in finding a job.

465 Sometimes a worker might be given a small share of the crop, sometimes
464 he might receive cash wages, but most frequently the remuneration offered by former herder or new farmer was not unlike that of the buffalo days. Says Pointed Plume,

> In the years I was building my herd and farming I hired Bob Sharp Cutter to help me. He was the son of my father's brother, Sharp Cutter. He was much younger

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[134] *Idem.*

[135] 1910, Vol. 17, p. 174.

[136] Once assigned, land could be "sold" or "rented" by one Blood to another.
[427] Leases to whites were made only with the permission of the Agency and the native Council of Chiefs.

[137] 1910, Vol. 17, p. 174.

[138] 1911, Vol. 19, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 24; 1914, Vol. 23, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 1; 1919, Vol. 9, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 68; 1920, Vol. 8, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 76.

[139] 1919, Vol. 9, No. 27, p. 36.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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than I. When he came, he was still single, but he remained with me for several years after his marriage. He lived in the same house with me. He received no regular pay, but he was given board and lodging. Sometimes I made him a gift. In the fall I would take him to the dry goods store and fit him out. After his marriage, I boarded his wife as well. Besides this, he kept $4.00 out of each $8.00 I paid for hauling the grain to the elevator. There were about thirty hauls.

Says Ned Sloane,

Spotted Tail, my father-in-law's brother's son worked for me three summers and winters. He was single and lived in my house. He received no regular wage, but besides his board and lodging, I gave him a horse at the end of each year, a complete riding outfit, some clothes, and a small cash bonus every so often. When he married he left me, but his brother who was still single took his place and worked for me for two years.

Shamanism appealed only to the old who were still willing to purchase medicine with horses and validate it with dreams. The herders continued to build up their position as they had in the past. They bought medicine bundles; they joined societies; they honored their sons and daughters with lavish payments in both horses and goods for ceremonial privileges. The new rich spent their money on seeds, implements, barns, and wagons. Unwilling to accumulate more than the few horses necessary to their daily tasks, these fortunate farmers felt no urge to enhance their prestige by ceremonial purchase. But they did have favorites "the American way." They honored their children with extravagant outfits, a fine saddle horse, a fine saddle. While they spent their money differently from the horse owners, they were just as eager to set their sons and daughters apart from the sons and daughters of the poorer families as were the owners of the large herds.

SUMMARY.—During this decade income spread was greatest and Blood prosperity at its peak. With few exceptions, the new farming program received its strongest support from those individuals who had the smallest stake in their society. Quick rewards soon set them on a par with the successful herders, but lacking a surplus of horses, they did not validate their position in the customary manner. For the first time in the history of the Blood, a money economy, entirely divorced from the traditional horse economy, flourished exuberantly and with success in this competitive society.

1920–1940

FROST AND DEPRESSION.—At the end of this golden decade, two catastrophes befell the Blood. The post-war depression caused a sudden drop in commodity prices. Both farmers and herders suffered. But prior to this, the harsh winters of 1919 and 1920 had created a much more fundamental

precisely the median age of steady earners in the rural sample (41.9). Fourteen full-time workers are males, eight are females. The median age of all earners, seasonal and permanent, is somewhat lower (34.5) than for steady earners alone. The youngest earners are generally the seasonal earners.

Six steady earners received job training from the military, BIA, colleges or special schools. Of these six, five are engaged in occupations for which their training prepared them. The median income of steady earners is $4,750, for seasonal earners the median is $700, and for the sample of all earners the median is $2,785. The median years of educational and vocational training (public schools, special training, college attendance, etc.) for steady earners is eleven years, while the median for seasonal earners is 8.5 years. Education is not a particularly important factor in determining full employment as the following 2 x 2 contingency table (Table 24) demonstrates. I use eleven years of training and education to determine the distribution above and below the median.

The tested relationship is not significant. A further test demonstrates the over-riding influence of length of employment on income amount, as Table 25 indicates. Furthermore, length of employment and racial composition are significantly associated, as Table 26 shows. And finally, I test for racial composition and amount of earned income (Table 27). Here the relationship is once again a strong one, although not quite as strong as in the previous table.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 144]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Table 25

LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT AND ANNUAL EARNINGS, 35 BROWNING EARNERS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

	$2,800 or More per Annum	Less than $2,800 per Annum	
12 Months of Employment	20	2	22
Less than 12 Months of Employment	0	13	13
	20	15	35

$\gamma_c = .625$; $X^2 = 12.01$, P .001

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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Table 27

RACIAL COMPOSITION AND AMOUNT OF EARNED INCOME,
35 BROWNING EARNERS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

	$2,800 or More	Less Than $2,800	
Less than Full Blood	17	5	22
Full Blood	6	7	13
	23	12	35

$\gamma_c = .098$; $X^2 = 6.63$, P .01

465 The preceding tables demonstrate that earnings are most closely
182 associated with the number of months of employment and less associated
128 with educational experience; racial composition is associated with short-term employment, low earnings, and less education. These findings corroborate the results of comparable tests in Chapter III regarding strengths of association between racial composition and acres
563 cultivated, as well as full-time employment in the 1921 sample. These
464 results show that full bloods tend to hold the low income short-term
128 jobs. In the past and present they are found at the bottom as measured by access to resources in the tests made in this study. These are crucial findings; they must always be kept in mind when any generalizations are made about the social organization (and hence kinship organization) of the reservation.

563 In Chapter III, I speculated about why the full bloods were less
128 able or willing to farm more than meager acreages on the average. I
241 cited language problems, hostility, timidity, and lack of business and
178 agricultural experience. Today the situation is somewhat different.
563 Almost a half century has passed since 1921 and the full bloods, accord-
464 ing to my findings, remain in a relatively poor position. Full bloods,
182 mixed-bloods and Whites are still competing for very meager resources. Tragically, the majority of full bloods continue to fall by the wayside because they do not have job experience, education (that is, quality education), and know-how for some occupations, especially the critical federal jobs which require some education and training. This is a circular process; if one cannot secure employment, he or she

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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231 new calves. Under individual care most of the herds multiplied, and the agent felt satisfied with his experiment. More Indians applied when free cattle were given out in the next few years. On receiving $50 to $100 for the sale of a prime steer to the ration house they felt compensated for their past fortitude. Wheatley saw additional signs of progress:

> Calf Bull, Bear Robe and Medicine Shield have purchased teams of heavier
> 511 horses, paying from $60 to $100 a team for them. In their houses the improvement is very perceptible by the number of bedsteads, chairs, good stoves, lamps, clocks and household utensils in use.[1]

Even in the west end of the reserve where the opposition was most severe, a few gave evidence of progress:

> . . . Little Axe, who, I may say, has set an example to all the other Indians, has a band of forty head of cattle, a good house with shingle roof, well furnished, an ice house, a milk house and a pig-sty.[2]

231 In 1900 there were nearly 600 cattle on the reserve, and the first bitter opposition was gradually being worn down by the obvious success of a few.

465 During the nineties we hear more and more of working for wages.
461 Alexander McGibbon, inspector of agencies, observed with satisfaction in 1891 that four Indians were mowing hay at $2.50 plus partial board per week. Wages were paid to the gang who went into the Rockies to cut logs for houses on the reserve, to the men who dug the irrigation ditch for the gardens of the North Camp, to the teamsters who beat their oxen all the way to High River with coal for the Roman Catholic school. As whites came into the region, more and more young men hired out individually to farmers and ranchers, getting 75 cents a day for binding and 50 cents for threshing. Others remained all summer to help break horses, round up the
432 cattle, and stack the hay. Cash also came from the sale of skin coats and moccasins.

361 The old bands had subdivided into smaller groups that were of
62 a more suitable size for carrying on gardening activities. The new ways of earning a living broke these units down still more. The original band organization was a suitable social structure for a collective nomadic life but not one likely to flourish under sedentary conditions where individual accumulation is rewarded. The early

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1898, p. 124.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

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16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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Today in August nearly every able-bodied man turns out to cut the wild range grass and haul it to the stock-farm. Even in years of drought when fodder is scarce, the Indians are employed hauling hay purchased from farmers nearby. Thus every year the Indians benefit to some extent by haying or hauling.

The exact income to the Indians from haying is difficult to estimate, largely because of variation in growing conditions from year to year. Let us consider optimum conditions. There is a standing price of $5 per ton for wild hay brought to the stock-farm. The reserve produces in good years 1,200 tons, a quantity about sufficient for wintering the calves. Assuming that this is used only for the Blackfoot herd and is bought at the usual price by the stock-man, the total income from haying is about $6,000. This may decrease to $2,400 in years when there is no hay and only hauling from white farms is to be done. In this case Indians receive $2 per ton delivered at the stock-farm.

We have no statistics on the individual income from this source. Using a series of incomes from the year 1940-1[1] gathered from seven Indians, six of the seven derived some cash therefrom. The average cash from haying was $26, maximum $80, minimum $12. This source of income is generally considered to be a means of obtaining money during the time before harvest.

In general we see that the trust fund has provided a steady and fairly reliable source of income for the Indians from cattle. By furnishing a number of cash-paying jobs, more than the owners are benefitted. The return from this source has been increased further by improving the quality of the stock. It should also not be forgotten that the Indians derive double benefit from their cattle: they are paid by weight for a beef killed and they receive a part of the meat at the regular Thursday issue of rations.

Wages. We have arbitrarily divided our consideration of wages into three headings: (1) wages from work off the reserve, (2) wages from permanent jobs on the reserve, (3) wages from temporary jobs on the reserve.

(1) Jobs off the reserve. In 1940 this was relatively unimportant as a source of income for the Indians. Their total income from wages from all sources is estimated by the agency and varies from year to year. The figures given from 1918 to 1938 run from a minimum of about $2,000 to a maximum of $6,000. The trust fund pays out

[1] Cf. Appendix B.

[See category 434, pp. 191-194--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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434 directly $2,000 per year to Indians on the reserve in wages for
465 various services to be described subsequently. As this amount varies little, we may assume the difference between $2,000 and the total sum estimated constitutes the approximate amount earned by Indians while working off the reserve. By this calculation we estimate that Indians earn off the reserve sums varying from zero to $4,000. This wide fluctuation is a product of such factors as the demand for workers during good agricultural years and the satisfaction of Indians with the income which they earn on the reserve.

As a rule Indians hire out to whites to assist at roundup or in threshing. The pay varies from $1 to $4 per day, and some are eager to earn this extra money. Aside from such semi-skilled services, Indian labour is used relatively little off the reserve in normal times. Among the seven incomes from 1940-1[1] only one man worked off the reserve; he made $20 during harvest time as a field hand.

464 Since the advent of the trust fund, Indians have tended to seek employment only on the reserve. This has been reinforced by the agency policy of discouraging such activities as haying off the reserve. Pressure has undoubtedly been exerted by prejudiced whites who refuse to compete with or hire "lazy Indians whom we support by taxes anyway." In the summer of 1941 because of the war-time demand for workers, Indians were more frequently induced to leave the reserve to obtain work, e.g., in a sugar-beet processing plant. Because of high pay for labour off the reserve, there was an increasing discontent with reserve wage scales, which may swing the trend again towards finding more work off the reserve. In periods of general unemployment there are practically no off-reserve jobs for Indians available.

463 (2) Permanent jobs on the reserve. The following is a list of the
465 permanent Indian jobs on the reserve, with approximate monthly
657 salary schedule for each.

1	Interpreter	$60
2	Scouts for Mounted Police	$30
6	Assistant stock-men	$35
3	Semi-permanent miners (paid 30c per hour)	$35
1	Clerk for mines	$60 (5 months only)
1	Hospital assistant	$30

[1] *Ibid.*

A yearly total of $5,880 is paid fourteen Indians for these permanent jobs. The wages for the interpreters and the scouts for the Mounted Police are paid by the Dominion government. The assistant stockmen are paid with funds from the sale of beef. Those connected with the mines are paid from the operating revenue of the mines. The hospital worker alone is paid directly from the trust fund as part of the operating cost of the hospital. 463 465 657

These jobs[A] are filled by application to the person under whose jurisdiction the job falls, e.g., the white stock-man or, at the mines, the Indian "room-boss." With the exception of the hospital assistant these jobs do not require work six days of the week. At the stock-farm, for instance, a man wishing to leave for a few days may give his job to another. This is used as an argument by whites to show that the Indians are lackadaisical. However, the fact that these jobs are seldom open, and that seven of these jobs have been filled by the same Indian for over five years suggests the contrary. Some Indians do work constantly at certain jobs. 466 657

(3) Temporary jobs on the reserve are of two kinds: those handled by the agency or the white employees and those directed by the Indians themselves. 464 657

Temporary jobs handled by the agency or the white employees are filled by application to or at the request of the director involved. They depend on the season and the exigencies of the moment. They may involve greasing a tractor, painting a building (a man is even paid for painting his own house), mending a road, cleaning a corral or a well, or stopping leaks in a roof. No doubt individual competence and industriousness play a part in securing these jobs. The farm instructor who knows that an Indian is careful and efficient in his work is more apt to employ him than one who is less reliable. Availability is another factor. A man who lived near the stock corral said he never was without a job when he wished one, as the stockman always came to him first when in need of help. The agent, too, occasionally gives a needy Indian a note addressed to a particular white employee asking that he be employed. Consistent with this policy of giving jobs to the needy, some Indians with considerable cash in their accounts at the agency are not employed at the agency-controlled jobs. The agency allocates approximately $7,000 as wages to Indians for temporary jobs. This sum comes from a variety of sources such as deduction from the income from cattle or grain as well as from interest on trust funds. 466 657 [463] 652 651

A [i.e., permanent jobs on the reserve--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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465 The returns to the workers for these jobs vary; some jobs pay by the hour or day, others on a contract basis when the job is finished. Jobs by the week pay $6 to $10, depending on their complexity. Running the tractor pays nearly $10, repairing a broken culvert not so much. Painting a building and shed recently brought $25 to the painter, and took about two weeks. Of the seven Indians whose income we investigated, only three were employed on such temporary jobs; these three earned during the year totals of $16, $24, and $45.

464 The number of jobs available varies with the time of year. Before the Sun Dance in June, when most Indians are eager to obtain more money, jobs are scarce. On the other hand, in the fall the demand for workers is quite great, there being a need both in agriculture and at the mines. It is hard to get interpreters and seventy-year-old informants then. Some individuals, however, report themselves chronically unable to obtain jobs at any season: one man stated that he was shunted from mining instructor to agent to farm instructor for eight days before he could get work.

466 Jobs for wages under Indian management differ from the same jobs under white management with respect to requirements for taking the jobs, wages, and obligations of employer and employee. With Indians a job is not solely a contract to carry out certain services in return for wages. Hiring is by invitation. The relation of employer and employee to each other implies warm affection, mutual sharing, and concern over the future welfare of the other. The following case illustrates this relationship:

466 After getting out of school, Philip worked for his brother-in-law, an Indian who was farming one of the largest acreages on the reserve. Philip was paid one third of the return from the crop plus food, clothing and housing. He was given per-
465 mission to use his employer's team and wagon in order to earn extra money which he would share with his employer. From time to time Philip's employer would give him $5 to $10 which he spent as he wished. When the crop came in Philip received about $100.

466 This is fairly typical. A frequent requirement for candidates for a job is blood or affinal relationship to the employer and that the employee be younger than the employer. Behaviour is patterned in accordance with the usual younger brother-older brother rela-
466 tions in the kinship system. The cash wages are uncertain in amount
465 and frequency of payment. However, when the employer has cash, he is expected to give some to his employee. In addition the em-

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ployee expects to be fed, housed, and sometimes also clothed; he hands over his own rations and occasionally contributes to the larder from his own money. There are further mutual obligations. An employer or employee would be considered wanting if he did not make an occasional gift of a shirt or tobacco to the other. The use of teams and wagons is frequently extended to the employee by the employer for going to town or making extra money. Should the employee wish to marry, he is expected to consult his employer as well as his own parents and, if approval is given, the employer, like the boy's parents, makes a present to the bride's family. After the marriage the bride is expected to live in the employer's house and help with the housework. If the employee is going to leave his job permanently, perhaps to start a farm of his own, the employer helps him with horses, furniture, or farm equipment. An employer who did not perform these duties would be much criticized.

About one half of the Indian farmers and certainly the one Indian stock-raiser employ young men during the year to help them on this basis. Horse-raisers are apt to need help all year round. The wages paid are difficult to estimate. Only one Indian pays regularly in cash; he pays $20 per month plus food and lodging. There seems to be no definite wage scale; frequently food and lodging is all that is expected plus occasional gifts of spending money. This is particularly the case where the job is short-lived. To convert these wages into cash is difficult and in a sense meaningless, but we estimate that the wages come to about $137 per year. The estimate is made on the basis of 50 cents for groceries per week, $35 for clothing, and $50 a year for spending money.

The number engaged in this kind of work is uncertain. It consists of a large portion of the male population between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. These young men have little or no property of their own and work out in this manner or on their father's place until they get their own farms. Probably fifty young men are so engaged.

Trapping. Though hunting is neither a source of income nor of diversion today, there are about five Indians who annually secure a $1 licence from the agency to trap muskrats and beavers. In February and March these men set their traps and, acting as bosses, induce others to trap too. When there are about 100 skins, the man with the licence takes the catch to the agency which forwards the

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still more. Tracks, cars, mechanical conveniences were bought second-hand. Each year improvements were made, and the former farm instructor was changed to a mining instructor with salary paid from the gross returns of the mines. Today on the reserve there is only one individually operated, primitive-type mine that still functions.

Around the chute from the main mine is a grove of trees that runs to the river banks. In this grove cabins have been built to house the Indians that flock there each fall as work begins. In accordance with the Mining Act, showers with running water were built at trust expense. A laundry, and somewhat later a church, were built. Now an active community of about fifty families lives near the mine during the production season. In 1941 there was a boarding-house with a Blackfoot woman as cook for bachelors who could eat at $3 plus rations per week. Another man made it his business to call at the rather distant ration house every week to get the busy miners' meat; he charged 25 cents for his service. A man with a car ran a taxi service the nine miles to Cluny; he charged 35 cents for a trip to town. Throughout the week the men work an average of eight hours a day, but if more coal is needed, they may work overtime into the night. On week-ends people come from the surrounding parts of the reserve to visit or to attend the hand game or Deer Dance.

The mine operates on a self-sustaining basis, all costs coming from its gross revenue. It produces about 10,000 tons of coal annually and derives a gross income from it of about $25,000, coal selling from $2.00 to $3.50 per ton. Of the total revenue about 50 per cent goes for wages to the miners, the rest for operation and maintenance.

The system of operation is an adaptation from the days of individually operated mines; the mining instructor makes a contract with a man at $1.60 per ton for all coal which he produces from a given room. This Indian thus becomes foreman of the room in question, hires his own men, furnishes a certain part of the equipment, and divides the amount made with his workers at the end of the week. There are eight rooms operating under contract, and at maximum output eighty men are employed.

Operation and maintenance include paying the wages of the mine instructor ($1,500), a clerk ($300), and three men hired at 30 cents per hour to do sundry jobs other than the extraction of coal. The

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316 mine offers for sale at cost such necessary equipment as dynamite, picks, fuses, etc. These are purchased by the miner or room boss, the cost being deducted from the sum he receives for coal. Developmental work such as the opening of new rooms, laying of new tracks, timbering, and purchase of cars is paid for from the operating fund.

316 466 To work at the mine an Indian usually goes in late September or early October when the demand for coal is greatest. Assuming that he has obtained a job by applying to the room foreman, the new miner must make an initial outlay of about $35 for equipment. A miner's cap, carbide, flints, a pick, etc., come to $25, and this is deducted in small amounts from the pay of the room where he is working, being passed on to the new miner as deductions from his weekly wage. The average miner in good weeks when coal is in demand will make between $6 and $10 a week. Most men work only a few weeks in order to obtain cash, and quit when they have what they need. Others have built more of their existence around the weekly pay and work steadily all winter. Certain applicants have been discouraged by the doctor from doing this work even part-time in view of the all-too-frequent tendency towards tuberculosis. It is not, therefore, a field open to everyone.

316 The total income from the mines is limited among other things by the available market. Most towns in southern Alberta have mines in the vicinity, and the town fathers have made ordinances forbidding the peddling within town limits of coal originating elsewhere than in their specified areas. The Blackfoot mine produces coal for the reserve and most of the area adjoining the eastern end of the reserve. This includes white farms in the vicinity, the reserve schools, the agency, the Blackfoot households and any trucker who may come asking for a few tons. However, this is the only market for the coal at present, and there is little immediate prospect of its increasing.

489 [434] Formerly Indians could make $5 or more per week by hauling and peddling their coal in adjacent towns. This secondary source of income has been prevented by the town ordinances mentioned and by the difficulty of Indians competing with trucks. The only hauling job left involves taking coal to the agency and schools. Though this pays $2 per load, it takes relatively few trips to provide for these needs.

231 [422] (2) *Horse raising.* A visitor will be struck by the large number of unbroken horses that roam the reserve. These animals all bear the Blackfoot brand, a lazy "S," and a number indicating the particular owner.

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657 428 presence of certain witnesses. Today the agent encourages the making of wills in his presence while a man is still in sound health; this document is then filed at the agency until the testator's death.[1] Thereby property acquired through trust funds may change hands, e.g., work horses, wagons, etc. These distributing mechanisms have been introduced to the reserve by whites and are for the most part foreign to the culture.

571 431 Fundamental to the Blackfoot distributing system is one central concept which appears in some form in many institutions. It is the Plains concept of the virtue of generosity. To most Blackfoot Indians 556 wealth is not so important in terms of accumulation of property as for the prestige and security that can be acquired by giving it away. 571 Many Indians of prominence appear to lack the symbols of wealth 431 that we find necessary, e.g., good furniture, new clothes, many horses, etc. They may not be wealthy in terms of property possessed, but they are wealthy in terms of the prestige acquired from having given away their property. However, unlike the potlatches of the north-west coast, the Blackfoot emphasize not a single large demonstration of generosity but a continuous show of it. This means that one must be sagacious and resourceful in handling affairs so that one can give away much but still have enough to continue the show. The criticism and self-criticism of many formerly wealthy Indians was not that they were not generous but that they were unable to continue the generosity. This feature is basic to an understanding of Blackfoot economic distributing systems.

434 In our discussion of income we mentioned certain Indian entrepreneurs[2] who make comfortable livings mainly through the sale of [465] horses. Such persons also manage a system of distribution. They must have men to care for the herd, and these "hired" men are provided with food, clothing, and shelter in return for their services. 431 Also, however, the indigent members of the young men's families are cared for by the entrepreneurs, and it is here that the concept 466 of generosity becomes important. These needy people constitute a 571 market for generosity. The greater the entrepreneur's income the greater the generosity he can show and the larger the number of persons who are eager for it.

[621] [177] [434] Boy Chief's establishment exemplified such a system. Although he had a few cattle, his main cash income derived from the horses

[1] It is uncertain whether a copy of the will must be forwarded to Ottawa. Since valuable property is presumably held by the band, probating by the Departmental Solicitor may not be necessary on the Blackfoot reserve.
[2] Cf. pp. 72-73; 77.

the seven whose incomes we inspected no change of property through this channel occurred. 585 431

A funeral brings with it certain distributive features. First, to prevent the bereaved from hurting themselves, many people must be present at all times in the days after the death. They must be generously fed, for generosity is important at all times. Then the grave-diggers are given something for their services. After interment all property is disposed of. The terms of the will are carried out, though they are concerned with only a part of the possessions given away. A house is literally cleaned of everything in any way valuable. People take what they wish, and the personal property of the deceased may be burned, especially at the death of a wife or husband. If a woman dies, the farm implements are kept for the widower by some close relative to prevent their being given away. If a man dies, his farm implements are either willed to a relative or, in case of no will, are given away to a kinsman. When everything is gone, the nearest relatives are expected to care for the bereaved and at the suitable interval of time give them new clothing, blankets, and food with which to start life over again. 765 574 767 465 768 765 431

Only one of the seven whose expenditures we investigated[1] was influenced by death; the deceased was his father's sister. Our informant took care of the old lady before her death, and others helped to buy groceries. No mention was made of property being received at death, and it is probable that she had little or none to dispose of. Only occasionally is death important as a means of distribution. 76

Outside the family an important system of distribution is gambling. This takes four main forms: hand game, pool or "snooky," poker, and horse racing. The hand games occur most frequently, particularly where many families congregate, as at the hay camps or the mine village. It is difficult to estimate how much changes hands through the course of an evening; we have heard of individuals winning $30 in an all-night session. More often the gain or loss is $2 to $5. 525 524 541

Pool or "snooky," played by young men in the village pool hall, draws bets of 10 to 50 cents from the participants. Spectators may also enter the game via side bets, or novices may be lured into betting high stakes by a display of ineptness on the part of an expert who later will play in his true form to snare the sucker.

[1]Cf. Appendix B.

A [See category 434, pp. 191-194--Analyst]

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Blackfoot declare that a generally "favourable trade balance" exists in terms of generosity: more exports occur than imports. Some Indians commented on this with pride, extolling Blackfoot generosity. Others have been less impressed, saying that the Blackfoot should not be the ones who are always giving.

Religious ceremonies may be viewed as an aspect of distribution. Although the object of Blackfoot religion can be conceived as a deflector of, or insurance against, certain malignant cosmic forces, the manner of achieving this constitutes a system of exchange and distribution. To overcome illness, for example, one vows to purchase a certain medicine bundle, shield, or painted tipi from another. Ceremonial transfer usually involves many persons singing the songs and performing the proper ritual under the direction of a master of ceremonies who receives a fee for his services. At the conclusion food is given to the guests. The cost of the transfer and the price of the medicine bundle are borne by the recipient. Membership in sacred societies or acquiring a weasel-skin suit operates the same way. The regalia purchased is regarded as a medicine bundle and gives a guarantee against catastrophe.

A sacred object provides almost continuous opportunities for generosity not only for the owner himself but for all members of his family. Most sacred objects have annual ceremonies wherein its songs are sung as the bundle is opened and displayed. Here, too, a paid master of ceremonies is required to lead the songs. During such a ceremonial considerable quantities of food are given away to all present. Relatives may help by giving away a blanket, money, or a horse to a guest in honour of the owner.

The most prosperous Indian, hence (in their terms) those on best terms with cosmic forces, have bought and sold many sacred objects. This matter of having owned sacred objects then becomes a symbol of generosity. When one has owned a large number of them, say fifteen, an opportunity arises to exhibit generosity. Such a person may hold a smoking ceremony at which time he can demonstrate his past generosity by singing the songs of each sacred object. Those with fewer sacred objects to their credit will be unable to sing comparably, thus exposing their lack of generosity.

Many of these distributive mechanisms are used relatively little. It is a rare year when a major sacred object or membership in a sacred society changes hands. No Medicine Pipe was acquired

ations of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with reserve conditions. The propertyless group and those with unsatisfied aspirations and property are both dissatisfied. Whether they wish security or money, the reserve economy as it now exists seldom satisfies these demands. Those with property and low aspirations are the main ones who live contentedly on the reserve, for their income comes almost without effort. Although some of these may once have had high aspirations, the discouragements have bowed them to acknowledge defeat.

There has then been a kind of dialectic process here. The trust fund was intended to satisfy the wants of the Indians. This it did, for few go hungry these days. But at the same time by satisfying these wants, it has made others more acute and brought about the emergence of new ones. The Indian of 1908 was perhaps satisfied when he could get a square meal, but it also made him aware that he was cold and had no chairs in his house. So after a while chairs, stoves, and other furniture were issued to newly-weds. This man's son assumes these articles and desires a radio, or curtains in his windows. Thus the standard of values has been altered by the trust fund.

Some aspects of this changed standard have been indicated already in our description of distribution and expenditure where white goods are greatly in demand. There is also the desire to have white standards of many kinds. Though the old Blackfoot may have been satisfied with forty acres of land, today the young man says:

> The Indians are given tracts of 40 acres of land to farm. The white man on the adjoining land has 320 acres. He says he can barely make a living on that. How can the Indians be expected to become independent on a tract one-eighth the size?

With wages, the same change of standard has also taken place. Some young men in need of money refuse jobs on the reserve when they can make $6 to $8 more by working elsewhere. They are quick to note differential treatment of Indians and whites in other respects. When feed for cattle was purchased in dry years, Indians readily observed that they received $1 to $2 less for the hay they harvested. It is also common knowledge and common cause for complaint that the price paid for ration beef on the reserve is lower than that paid whites when beef is purchased from them. The difference in type

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of house built for the farm instructors and the house built at band expense for the Indian is a further source of irritation. They see themselves as potential equals to the whites.

Thus the trust fund has made the comforts of white existence more available to Indians but at the same time has raised the aspirations. In a real sense the Indians have been merely made aware of these needs without being given the means of satisfying them. Young people influenced by the desire for more are chafing that their incomes do not permit them these things taken so for granted by whites. Despite the fact that these people have basic economic security and one of the largest incomes of any Indian reserve in Canada, as a whole their needs have not been satisfied but augmented.

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two to every hundred Indians with a maximum of sixteen for any Indian group. To elect a chief, a meeting of the entire adult male population is called and presided over by the agent on behalf of the Governor in Council. Nominations are made from the floor, various persons speaking in favour of one or the other of the nominees. To vote, one calls the name of the desired nominee, and this voice is recorded after the name of the voter by the secretary of the meeting. The nominee with the highest number of votes is elected.

The rewards of chiefs were set in the treaty.[1] Chiefs receive $15 per year from the government at the time of the payment of treaty money, instead of the usual $5 paid other Indians. As to powers, the following subjects fall within the jurisdiction of the chiefs, "subject to confirmation by the Governor in Council": selection of the religious denomination of the teachers in the schools; health measures; maintenance of order in assemblies; prevention of disorder; prevention of trespass by animals; construction and maintenance of roads, waterways, bridges, schools and public buildings; attendance of children at school; establishment of pounds; locating and registering the bands within the reserve; repression of noxious weeds; control of participation in amusements on the Sabbath; and regulation of peddlers selling to Indians.[2]

Length of office is for life, assuming that the chief observes the rules of decorous behaviour. In case of "dishonesty, intemperance, immorality or incompetency" his period of service is terminable by the Governor in Council.[3]

Statutorily, there is a possible extension of the control over a chief by the electorate when the Governor in Council sanctions the elective system. Thereby the chiefs are limited to terms of three years in office, though their exercise of power remains the same as described above. In addition, Part II of the Indian Act, which gives the chiefs greater latitude of action, may be invoked by the Governor in Council when he deems the Indian tribe in question sufficiently advanced. According to the hierarchy of powers and responsibilities specified in the Act, the Blackfoot chiefs, elected for life, stand on the lowest level of administrative participation.

At present, Blackfoot chiefly powers are exercised through meetings of the council of chiefs called four or more times per year by the agent. In full session there are normally eight minor chiefs

[1] Treaty No. 7, Blackfoot Treaty.
[2] The Indian Act, Sec. 101.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sec. 99.

the relative was an experienced doctor, this might 756
inspire the young person to dream of specific uses 759
for the plants. The dream would usually include 787
songs and ceremonies necessary to call on the Power of the plants. Most doctors had a good knowledge of plants and herbs, but their special Powers in curing were with the things they had dreamed about. The older the doctor, the more specialized dreams he was likely to have. Many old doctors had quite a lot of Power in this Way.

During the 1930s, when many of our People 756
still followed the Old Ways, there were several 127
well-known doctors administering to their ailments. In 1939, a woman named Esther Goldfrank came to us from New York to study personal relations among the Bloods. In her records, she included some information about Blood doctors. Among these doctors was Knife, uncle of Sorrel Horse, who gave this information to Goldfrank.

Knife first got his Power to doctor when he 756
went to a bear's den to seek a vision. The den was 787
located near Hill Spring, not far from the town of Cardston. Although it was an abandoned den, Knife heard bear sounds his first two nights there. The third night, the bear's Spirit came to him and taught him how to heal. He was told to take [237]
a bear's claw, tie certain shells to it, and wear it as [301]
a necklace. In addition, he was instructed to always grab his patients and treat them as though they were bears. Knife later gave the necklace to his son, Two Guns, who had dreams of his own with it. Two Guns dreamed that he should wear a [301]
certain kind of stone on a necklace slung over one shoulder, so that he would be able to doctor hemorrhages. He was best known for this last specialty. Sometimes his grateful patients paid [465]
two or three horses for his doctoring.

The white woman's notes also mention Heavy Head, who was a doctor as well as a holy man. He received his first Powers to doctor while [785]
fasting in the Belly Buttes prior to his self-torture at the Sun Dance of 1889. After Gets Wood at

especially liked by children. The roots were also dried for winter, when they were boiled in blood or broth. 252 824

SPRING BEAUTY (*Claytonia lanceolata*): Because of its potatolike root, this plant is known as "lumpy head." Two short and narrow leaves and white-pink flowers grow up from the root. Found on the prairies and in the foothills, these roots were dug up in spring and eaten fresh, boiled, or roasted. 137 262 [824]

NATURAL MEDICINES

Many plants are gathered for medical use. Here is Atsitsina's introduction to his Teachings of these plants: 278

Oki, I will tell you a little story of how my father, Natosina, used to get his doctoring medicines together.

For instance, If someone was hemorrhaging from the mouth, he would use a combination of Gros Ventre scent (western meadow rue), sweetgrass, and white clay. The Gros Ventre scent had to be still green. My mother would put these plants in the oven for a long time, feeling and checking them every once in a while. When they were very soft she would take them out and crumble them onto a piece of buckskin. When she was finished, they looked like black pepper. [757] [824]

There was this white man we called Mountain Chief. He was spitting blood and he asked my father to make a brew for him. My father made a small brew and prayed while he boiled it. Then he told the man to drink it with the leaves in it. He told him, "Don't lie to me. Tell me the truth if you like it and if it works for you." He drank it. A couple days later he was much better. That man gave my father a horse, some cash, and other things for curing him. 757 278 [465]

When I used to ride horses, one time a horse fell on me. My knee swelled up. My father told my mother to get some thorns from a rose bush 755 752